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horrible agents of destruction that were developed in the war, and that may be so easily mobilized by a faithless and aggressive nation. Involved in all of this, of course, will be the broad questions of Far Eastern and world policy.

Taken as a whole, the expression of opinion and purpose in the invitations was admirable and well calculated to advance the cause of peace, regarded lately with a new optimism by those in touch with international movements.

### PROGRESS IN THE DISARMAMENT PRELIMINARIES

**S**ECRETARY HUGHES has surmounted successfully the initial obstacles in the way of the disarmament conference called by President Harding. His early difficulties have been with the Japanese angle. The statesmen of Japan had no hesitancy in agreeing to a conference on disarmament, but they were chary of taking up Far Eastern and Pacific questions. However, they finally agreed to enter the conference whole-heartedly, and that is a fact of large importance. It seems to pre-  
sage the removal of smaller and related difficulties in the time between now and the conference—such, for example, as agreement upon the scope and nature of the Far Eastern problems to be included in the agenda.

Two tremendous forces are working in support of President Harding and Secretary Hughes in placing this conference on a sound foundation and in starting it in the right direction. One force, which is not always recognized, is that of the enlightened public opinion operating not merely in our own country and in England, but on the continent of Europe and in Japan itself. The liberal thought of the world is rallying to the support of this American movement toward sanity and righteousness and it is rapidly taking form and acquiring power. There is sense in the clause which appeared in Baron Shidehara's letter to A. B. Farquhar, of York, Pennsylvania. Baron Shidehara used these words: "There is no reason to doubt that our mutual intention of good-will must bear its proper fruit." In his letter to Mr. Farquhar that clause was linked with a warning against the activities of those seeking discord between America and Japan. But whatever qualifications the Japanese diplomat attached to them, they stand forth as an admirable expression of an enormously important truth in the purposes of the peoples concerned.

The second of the great forces forwarding the success of the disarmament conference is the familiar one of taxation. So much has been said and written about that, as an agency which is turning the so-called practical man into the paths advocated and followed by the

so-called idealists, that we hesitate to add anything. But there are, in another part of this number, figures not generally known which very powerfully express the crushing weight of this taxation burden caused by war and preparation for war. They show that in the fiscal year 1922 appropriations already made by this government to cover expenses incident to past wars, such as pensions, compensations, and other forms of relief, are 806 per cent more than such appropriations in the fiscal year 1916, the last before this country entered the World War. They also show that the appropriations for the army in the 1922 fiscal year have increased 214 per cent over the 1916 appropriations, and that the appropriations for the navy have increased 156 per cent. The total war appropriations thus far for the year 1922 average 430 per cent more than the total for the year 1916—the total, of course, covering all appropriations for war expenses, past, present, and future. And that is not all. Secretary Mellon a few days ago stated to the Ways and Means Committee that provision must be made in this fiscal year for expenditures of \$450,000,000 in the War Department, which is approximately \$100,000,000 more than appropriations for the year, and that the expenditures in the Navy Department will be about \$487,000,000, which is approximately \$60,000,000 more than the current appropriation. This increase in probable current expenditures over current appropriations is due apparently to the work started in each department in the past and not yet completed.

What this country is suffering and is protesting against is being suffered by every other of the great powers in worse degree. France, with less than half our population and wealth, is supporting an army nearly six times the size of ours, as lately fixed by Congress. Great Britain, according to some estimates, will spend upward of twice as much money on her navy this year as the United States, and possibly four or five times as much on her army as this country, and she is less wealthy today than we. Japan is so burdened by her army and navy appropriations that the business elements, the tax-paying elements, are going to the side of the liberal forces in great numbers, constantly causing increasing danger to the prestige of the militaristic elder statesmen.

With such a set of facts in the world, and with enough time having passed since the war for minds to clear and hatreds to dissolve, there is reason to suppose that the initial progress of Secretary Hughes will be followed by great achievement when the conference assembles. Not that dangers are not present. They are. If the problems were not serious and difficult, the conference would not be so necessary and so important. The actual problem of Japan, that of finding room for her expanding

population, cannot be brushed aside easily and must be considered in the settlement of Far Eastern issues; and that consideration undoubtedly will be embarrassed at times by the affirmed purpose of the people of the Pacific slope of this continent and those in Australia to bar Japanese immigration. There will be difficulties encountered if and when the disarmament problem touches the land forces of Europe. But, in spite of all that, we repeat our conviction that the great forces of humanity that are working on the one hand for higher ideals and for good-will, and on the other hand for relief from the terrible price the world is paying for the old methods, will converge into a powerful, compelling, motive power when the conference gathers about the table in Washington.

There seems to be a growing belief that the conference will inevitably expand beyond its stated function—that of dealing with armament and the Far Eastern questions. Conviction spreads that inevitably, when the statesmen of the great powers meet one another with the world pressure for peace behind them, they will be driven, whether they wish it or no, to action on an association of nations. Frequent expressions in important quarters show that the thought expressed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* in the past, namely, that this conference will meet in a peace psychology, whereas that of Paris met in a war psychology, is in the minds of many men. The very fact that this thought is finding new lodgments illustrates the extent to which the people generally are recovering their perspective, and are seeking constructive steps.

Very fortunately there has been no sign of jealousy of the new conference among those attached to the League of Nations. The agency of the League of Nations concerned with disarmament has welcomed the Harding conference through expressions of its leaders. Others foremost in championing the work of the League in various countries have spoken in similar vein. It is a good thing that there is no self-seeking thus far, no small pride of opinion, among the men and women working along different paths but toward the same goal of peace.

#### TESTIMONY FROM THE NEW NATIONS

THERE is encouraging evidence of the extent of the demand for peaceful methods in world relations, in statements printed in the *London Times* from the prime ministers of three of the commonwealths in the world-girdling British Empire. Mr. Hughes, of Australia, Mr. Meighen, of Canada, and Mr. Massey, of New Zealand, representing different interests and primarily concerned with somewhat different problems, join in

whole-hearted approval of the move made by the American President.

To Mr. Hughes, long an advocate of renewal of the Anglo-Japanese pact in such form as would be agreeable not only to England and Japan, but to the Pacific dominions of Great Britain and to this country, the Harding disarmament conference appears a parallel step with such renewal, in the path to settlement of Pacific problems, and insuring the peace of the world. There may be a difference of opinion as to the soundness of Mr. Hughes' emphasis of the value of the Anglo-Japanese pact, but the prayer voiced by him, "that everything will be done to insure the consummation of the world's hope," shows the ardor of his pursuit of the great end, whatever variance there may appear in methods favored in approaching that end.

And for Americans, the Canadian Premier, Mr. Meighen, expressed a thought that is wholly satisfactory when he said of Mr. Harding's proposal: "To a distracted world it offers a new hope, a promise of relief from the uncertainties and apprehensions that have clouded the future. Nowhere will it be welcomed more eagerly than in Canada; for it has been the unwavering belief of Canadians that the issues involved in the question of armaments, as well as the closely connected problems of the Pacific and the Far East, can be best settled by full and frank consultation among the nations chiefly interested—that is, by the method of free conference. Their belief is based on their experience of this method in the New World, and they will unquestionably seek every means to insure that success results from this momentous proposal."

Mr. Massey, while apparently somewhat pessimistic as to the possibility of peace for all time, voiced the belief that the whole world is wearied of strife and is looking for a long continuation of peace. He believes that the time is opportune for the great conference, to formulate principle and policies that will establish peace at least for generations.

#### THE BRYCE LECTURES AID

THERE IS LARGE PROFIT, for the intelligence of this country and of the entire civilized world, in the very notable series of addresses made by Viscount James Bryce before the Institute of Politics at Williams College. Our understanding is that these and other lectures delivered before the Institute are to be gathered into book form, for the careful study of those interested in an understanding of the international situation. That is fortunate. Lord Bryce has brought to the consideration of the Versailles Treaty, for example, an amazing fund of information of the historical back-